Endnotes

¹ "Joint Inquiry into Intelligence Community Activities Before and After the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001." Report of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. December 2002. P34.

² U.S. intelligence agencies were tracking at least two of the September 11 hijackers, but failed to use watch lists to prevent their entry to the United States. Yet, the Administration has failed to address the problem of multiple, incompatible, and sometimes inaccessible watch lists. According to the GAO, "Nine federal agencies ...develop and maintain 12 watch lists...These lists include overlapping but not identical sets of data, and different policies and procedures govern whether and how these data are shared with others." General Accounting Office, "Information Technology: Terrorist Watch Lists Should be Consolidated to Promote Better Integration and Sharing," GAO-03-322. April 15, 2003.

³ The White House. "New Terrorist Screening Center Established." September 16, 2003. http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/09/20030916-8.html

⁴ Letter to Congressman Jim Turner from Eleni Kalisch, Assistant Director of Congressional Affairs, Federal Bureau of Investigation, December 18, 2003.

http://www.house.gov/hsc/democrats/pdf/press/040113 letter kalisch to turner dec 18 03reTSC.pdf.

⁵ FBI Counterterrorism Division message on the National Law Enforcement Telecommunications System, "Terrorist Screening Center," November 28, 2003.

⁶ Report of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. December 2002. P2.

⁷ H.R. 4104, 108th Congress, 2d Sess. (2004)...

⁸ "Intelligence and National Security Policy." 9/11 Commission.- Testimony of James Steinberg, V.P. and Director of Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution. 14 October 2003. P6.

CRS Report for Congress #RL31292. 27 May 2003. P1.

¹⁰ Report of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. December 2002. P90.

¹¹ Hart-Rudman, Phase Three Report. Pxiv.

¹² Best, Richard A. Jr. "Intelligence to Counter Terrorism: Issues for Congress." CRS Report for Congress

[#]RL31292. 27 May 2003. P9.

13 Report of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. December 2002. P11.

¹⁴ Report of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. December 2002. P71.

¹⁵ Report of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. December 2002. P71.

¹⁶ Hart-Rudman, Phase Two Report. P15.

¹⁷ DesDerisy, Lloyd, "Military Transformation: Issues for Congress and Status of Effort," CRS Report for Congress #RL31922. . May 14, 2003. P11.

¹⁸ Johnson, Stuart. "CTNSP, A New PPBS Process to Advance Transformation." Defense Horizons. Sep-

tember 2003. N32.

19 "Military Transformation: Army's Evaluation of Stryker and M-113A3 Infantry Carrier Vehicles Provided Sufficient Data for Statutorily Mandated Comparison." GAO Report to Congressional Committees #GAO-03-671. May 2003. P3.

²⁰ Hart-Rudman. "Phase Two Report. Seeking A National Strategy: A Concert for Preserving Security and Promoting Freedom." United States Commission of National Security for the 21st Century. April 15, 2000.

²¹ Feickert, Andrew. "U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF): Background and Issues for Congress." CRS Report for Congress #RL21048. August 15, 2003. P1.

²² Hart-Rudman, Phase Three Report. P14.

²³ Feickert, Andrew. P2.

²⁴ "Protecting America's Freedom in the Information Age." A Report of the Markle Foundation Task Force. October 2002. P.113.

²⁵ Report of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. December 2002. P37.

- ²⁶ Report of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. December 2002. P34.
- ²⁷ Testimony of National Security Adviser Condoleeza Rice before the 9/11 Commission, April 8, 2004.
- ²⁸ CRS Report: FBI Intelligence Reform Since September 11, 2001: Issues and Options for Congress, April 6, 2004, p. 24.
- ²⁹ CRS Report, p. 25.
- ³⁰ CRS Report, p. 26, 33.
- ³¹ CRS Report, p. 3, 14.
- ³² "Terrorist Financing." Council on Foreign Relations. Report by an Independent Task Force. 2002. P1.
- ³³ Council on Foreign Relations. Report by an Independent Task Force. 2002. P1.
- ³⁴ Council on Foreign Relations. Report by an Independent Task Force. 2002. P7.
- 35 Council on Foreign Relations. Report by an Independent Task Force. 2002. P10.
- ³⁶ Council on Foreign Relations. Report by an Independent Task Force. 2002. P9.
- ³⁷ Murphy, Maureen M. "International Money Laundering and Abatement and Anti-Terrorist Financing Act of 2001, Title III of P.L. 107-56 (USA Patriot Act). CRS Report for Congress. 4 December 2001. P1.
- ³⁸ Council on Foreign Relations. Report by an Independent Task Force. 2002. P1.
- ³⁹ Lee, Rensselaer. "Terrorist Financing: The U.S. and International Response." *CRS Report for Congress*. December 6, 2002, P2.
- ⁴⁰ Lee, Rensselaer. P19.
- ⁴¹ Council on Foreign Relations. Report by an Independent Task Force. 2002. P25.
- ⁴² Fiscal Year 2005 Budget Request for the Department of Treasury International Programs- summary tables P24.
- 43 Kupchan, Charles. "Continental Rift." *The Star-Ledger*. Op-Ed. 27 April 2003.
- ⁴⁴ Tenet, George, "DCI Worldwide Threat Briefing, The Worldwide Threat 2004: Challenges in a Changing Global Context," Hearing before the Select Committee on Intelligence, United States Senate, February 24, 2004.
- ⁴⁵Sopko, John F. "The New National Security Landscape: From Nuclear Armageddon to Human Precision-Guided Munitions." Presentation at the *Central Asia, Global Terrorism and Asian Pacific Security Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii.* February 12-14, 2003. P12.
- ⁴⁶ Sopko, John F. p12.
- ⁴⁷ Bunn, Matthew. "Preventing Nuclear Terrorism: A Progress Update." *National Threat Initiative*. 22 October 2003. P11.
- ⁴⁸ Nunn, Sam. Frm. Senator, and Senator Richard G. Lugar. "Nunn, Lugar: Programs to Secure Vulnerable Nuclear Weapons and Materials Must be Accelerated and Reshaped to Meet Terrorist Threat." *Nuclear Threat Initiative*. March 12, 2003.
- ⁴⁹ "Nuclear Threat Initiative 2002 Annual Report." *Nuclear Threat Initiative*. 2002. P21.
- ⁵⁰ Bunn, Matthew and Anthony Wier and John P. Holdren. P3.
- ⁵¹ "Accounting for Sealed Sources of Nuclear Material Provided to Foreign Countries," Department of Energy Inspector General Report 546, March 2002.
- ⁵² Bunn, Matthew and Anthony Wier and John P. Holdren. P4.
- 53 Bunn, Matthew and Anthony Wier and John P. Holdren. "Controlling Nuclear Warheads and Materials:

 A Report Card and Action Plan" National Threat Initiative, P4
- A Report Card and Action Plan." *National Threat Initiative*. P4.

 Steps to Reduce Terrorist Threat from Nuclear Weapons and Materials." *Nuclear Threat Initiative*, *Press Release*. May 20, 2002.
- 55 Bunn, Matthew and Anthony Wier and John P. Holdren. P54.
- ⁵⁶ Curtis, Charles B. "Russia's Role in Combating Catastrophic Terrorism." *Nuclear Threat Initiative.* 3 February 2003.
- ⁵⁷ Bunn, Matthew.
- ⁵⁸ Kupchan, Charles. "A Double Barreled Attack on American War Policy." *New York Times*. 24 August 2002
- ⁵⁹ Weiner, Rebecca. "Proliferation Security Initiative to Stem Flow of WMD Material" Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies. July 16 2003. P.1
- ⁶⁰ Perl, Raphael. "Terrorism and National Security: Issues and Trends." CRS Issue Brief for Congress #IB10119.
- ⁶¹ George Tenet, "DCI's Worldwide Threat Briefing, The Worldwide Threat 2004: Challenges in a Changing Global Context," Statement to Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. Senate, February 24, 2004.

- ⁶² Ferguson, Charles D. "Reducing the Threat of RDDs." IAEA Bulletin . P12.
- ⁶³ Ferguson, Charles D. P12.
- ⁶⁴ Ferguson, Charles D., Tasheen Kazi, and Judith Perera. "Commercial Radioactive Sources: Surveying the Security Risks." *Monterey Institute of International Studies, Center for Nonproliferation Studies.* January 2003. Pviii.
- ⁶⁵ Ferguson, Charles D., Tasheen Kazi, and Judith Perera. Pix.
- ⁶⁶ Bunn, Matthew and Anthony Wier and John P. Holdren. P8.
- ⁶⁷ Nunn, Sam. Frm. U.S. Senator and CO-Chairman of the Nuclear Threat Initiative. Speech given in London, U.K., "Preventing Catastrophic Terrorism." January 20, 2003.
- ⁶⁸Brocheure, "Working For A Safer World." National Threat Initiative.
- ⁶⁹ "Russia's Mountain of WMD," Christian Science Monitor, February 18, 2004.
- ⁷⁰ Rennack, Dianne. "Nuclear, Biological, Chemical, and Missle Proliferation Sanctions: Selected Current Law." *CRS Report for Congress #RL31502*. January 24, 2003.
- ⁷¹Nunn, Sam. Frm. U.S. Senator and CoO-Chairman of the Nuclear Threat Initiative. Testimony to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. September 05, 2001.
- ⁷² National Center for Infectiouse Diseases, Centers for Disease Control, "Infectious Diseases," http://www.cdc.gov/ncidod/about.htm.
- ⁷³ Hamburg-, Margaret A. "Bioterrorism: Responding to an Emerging Threat." *TRENDS in Biotechnology*. May 10, 2002, P297.
- ⁷⁴ Hamburg-, Margaret A. "Bioterrorism: Responding to an Emerging Threat."
- ⁷⁵ U.S. General Accounting Office, Weapons of Mass Destruction: Additional Russian Cooperation Needed to Facilitate U.S. Efforts to Improve Security at Russian Sites, GAO-03-482, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, March 2003).
- ⁷⁶ Hamburg-, Margaret A. "Bioterrorism: Responding to an Emerging Threat."
- ⁷⁷ Jonathan Tucker, "In the Shadow of Anthrax: Strengthening the Biological Disarmament Regime," *The Nonproliferation Review*, (Spring 2002): 112.
- ⁷⁸ Defense Science Board, Department of Defense, "The Projected Evolution of Diagnostics, Vaccines, and Therapeutics Against Major Biogents with Strategic R&D and Supply Actions," 2000 Defense Science Board Summer Study, (2000).
- ⁷⁹ Bradley A. Smith, Thomas V. Inglesby, and Tara O'Toole, "Biodefense R&D: Anticipating Future Threats, Establishing a Strategic Environment," *Biosecurity and Bioterrorism: Biodefense Strategy, Practice, and Science*, 1, no. 3 (2003): 193-202.
- ⁸⁰ Office of Transnational Issues, Central Intelligence Agency, *The Darker Bioweapons Future*, OTI SF 2003-108, November 3, 2001, http://www.fas.org/irp/cia/product/bwl103.pdf.
- ⁸¹ Joseph A. DiMasi, Ronald W. Hansen, and Henry, G. Grabowski. "The Price of Innovation: New Estimates of Drug Development Costs." *Journal of Health Economics*, 22, no. 2 (2003):151-185.
- ⁸² "The Defense Science Board 2001 Summer Study on Defense Science and Technology." *Department of Defense*. May 2002.
- ⁸³ U. S. Food and Drug Administration, *Innovation or Stagnation: Challenge and Opportunity on the Critical Path to New Medical Products*, March 2004,
- http://www.fda.gov/oc/initiatives/criticalpath/whitepaper.html.
- Barbera, Joseph A. MD. "Ambulances to Nowhere: America's Critical Shortfall in Medical Preparedness for Catastrophic Terrorism." BCSIA Discussion Paper 2001-15, ESDP Discussion Paper ESDP-2001-07, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. October 2001; Hamburg, Margaret A. "Preparing For and Preventing Bioterrorism." P28.
 Trust for America's Health, Ready or Not: Protecting the Public's Health in the Age of Bioterrorism,
- ⁸³ Trust for America's Health, Ready or Not: Protecting the Public's Health in the Age of Bioterrorisms, December 2003.
- ⁸⁶ Board on Global Health, Institute of Medicine, *Microbial Threats to Health: Emergence, Detection, and Response*, (Washington, D.C: National Academy Press 2003), pp. 159-174.
- ⁸⁷ "For example, at the time of our inspection, one northern border sector had identified 65 smuggling corridors along the more than 30 miles of [northern] border within its area of responsibility, but the sector had only 36 sensors with which to monitor these corridors." Glen Fine, Inspector General for the Department of Justice, testimony before the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. April 2003.
- ⁸⁸ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Data Management Improvement Act 2003 Task Force Report*, at 33. Available at: http://uscis.gov/graphics/shared/lawenfor/bmgmt/inspect/dmia.htm.

- ⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 35.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 141.
- 91 Hart-Rudman. Phase Three Report. P17.
- ⁹² According to Brookings Institution security expert Michael O'Hanlon, the Coast Guard's manpower is at a level "several times smaller for example than during World War II." *Michael O'Hanlon, "Cargo Security" testimony before the Committee on Governmental Affairs, U.S. Senate.* March 20, 2003.
- ⁹³ The GAO reports that "more than six million cargo containers arrive at our ports every year, but less than three percent of these are physically inspected. This tremendous flow of goods [with low inspection rate] makes container shipments a prime target for terrorists." General Accounting Office, "Port Security: Nation Faces Formidable Challenges in Making Initiatives Successful," GAO-02-993T. August 05, 2003.
- ⁹⁴ Interagency Commission on Crime and Security in U.S. Seaports.
- ⁹⁵ "The [Homeland Security] Department isn't convinced that there is a cost-effective method to thwart a determined terrorist on the ground aiming at an aircraft overhead." Renae Merle, "US Weighing Missile Defenses for Airliners," Washington Post. August 22, 2003. PE1.
- ⁹⁶ Aviation and Transportation Security Act, Pub. L. No. 107-71, Sect. 110.
- ⁹⁷ According to TSA, "there is a 35 percent to 65 percent likelihood that terrorists are planning to put a bomb in cargo on a passenger plane, while the federal government is focused almost exclusively on screening passengers and baggage." *Greg Schneider*, "Terror Risk Cited for Cargo Carried on Passenger Jets; 2 Reports List Security Gaps," Washington Post. June 10, 2002. PA1.
- 98 Peter Bergen, "Al Qaeda's New Tactics," The New York Times, November 15, 2002
- ⁹⁹ Congressional Research Service, "Transit Security," memo to Homeland Security Committee Democratic staff, August 28, 2003.
- 100 Glenn cite, TBA; Brian Jenkins, RAND, TBA
- ¹⁰¹ Amanda Ripley, "America's Risky Rails: Why the government is investing so much in airline security while leaving trains vulnerable," Time, March 22, 2004.
- ¹⁰² Congressional Research Service, "TSA Appropriations," memo to the House Select Committee on Homeland Security, November 4, 2003.
- ¹⁰³ DHS briefing on the 2005 TSA budget request for members of the House Select Committee on Homeland Security staff, February 9, 2004.
- ¹⁰⁴ GAO-03-263, 2
- ¹⁰⁵ GAO-03-843
- 106 GAO-03-435, hazmat report
- ¹⁰⁷ Paul R. Kleindorfer, James C. Belke, Michael R. Elliott, Kiwan Lee, Robert A. Lowe, Harold I.Feldman, "Accident Epidemiology and the U.S. Chemical Industry: Accident History and Worst-Case Data from RMP*Info," *Risk Analysis*, 23, no. 5, (2003): 865-881.
- ¹⁰⁸ Michael O'Hanlon and others, *Protecting the American Homeland: A Preliminary Analysis*, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2002): 47.
- ¹⁰⁹ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, "Statement by the Department of Homeland Security on Continued Al-Qaeda Threats," November 21, 2003.
- ¹¹⁰ James V. Grimaldi and Guy Gugliotta, "Chemical Plants Feared as Targets," *Washington Post*, December 16, 2001, A1.
- 111 "U.S. Plants: Open for Terrorists," 60 Minutes, broadcast November 16, 2003.
- ¹¹² Carl Prine, "Chemical Sites Still Vulnerable," *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, November 16, 2003.
- ¹¹³ U. S. General Accounting Office, Homeland Security: Voluntary Initiatives Are Under Way at Chemical Facilities, but the Extent of Security Preparedness is Unknown, 30.
- Thomas Ridge and Christine Whitman, "A Security Requirement," Washington Post, October 6, 2002, B6.
- ¹¹⁵ U. S. General Accounting Office, Homeland Security: Voluntary Initiatives Are Under Way at Chemical Facilities, but the Extent of Security Preparedness is Unknown. GAO-03-439, March 2003, 18.
- Testimony of Frank Libutti, Under Secretary for Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection, Department of Homeland Security, before the House Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on Homeland Security, April 1, 2004.
- Stephen Ritter, "Green Solutions to Global Problems," *Chemical and Engineering News*, September 29, 2003, 33.
- ¹¹⁸ Jeff Johnson, "Simply Safer," Chemical and Engineering News, February 3, 2003, 23.

- ¹¹⁹ John Mintz, "Bush Seeks Voluntary Chemical Plant Security Steps," Washington Post, April 8, 2003,
- 120 (a) "Administration Moves to Limit EPA Role in Homeland Security Efforts," Chemical PolicvAlert.com, December 29, 2003. (b) Carl Prine "EPA's Security Push Fails," Pittsburgh Tribune-Review, July 14, 2002.
- ¹²¹ U.S. General Accounting Office, Foot and Mouth Disease: To Protect U.S. Livestock, USDA Must Remain Vigilant and Resolve Outstanding Issues, GAO-02-808, (Washington, D.C: GPO. July 26, 2002).
- Daniel G. Dupont, "Food Fears: The Threat of Agricultural Terrorism Spurs Calls for More Vigilance," Scientific American, October 2003, 22.
- 123 National Center for Infectious Disease, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Food-Related Disease, http://www.cdc.gov/ncidod/diseases/food/index.htm, accessed January 16, 2003.
- 124 Byron Spice, "Food Supply Remains at Risk of Terrorists," Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, November 24,
- ¹²⁵ Philip Hilts, "Don't Eat Grapes FDA Warns," Washington Post, March 14, 1989, A1.
- ¹²⁶ W. Seth Carus, "The Rajneeshes," *Toxic Terror*, Jonathan Tucker, Ed., (Boston: MIT Press, 2000): 115. 127 Byron Spice, "Food Supply Remains at Risk of Terrorists," Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, November 24,
- ¹²⁸ Jason Peckenpaugh, "No Retraining for Agricultural Inspectors in Border Agency Plan," govexec.com, October 29, 2003.
- ¹²⁹ Based on figures provided to the Select Committee on Homeland Security in correspondence dated October 4, 2003.
- 130 Based on border staff interviews conducted in November 2003.
- Congressional Research Service, Food Safety Issues for the 108th Congress, RL31853, by Donna U. Vogt, January 6, 2004.
- William R. Pape, "Traceability Can Help Combat Bioterrorism," Food Traceability Report, 2, no. 10 (October 2002).

 133 Peter Chalk, Testimony before the Senate Committee ob Government Affairs, November 19, 2003.
- 134 U.S. General Accounting Office, Food-Processing Security: Voluntary Efforts Are Underway, but Federal Agencies Cannot Fully Assess Their Implementation, GAO-03-342, Washington, D.C.: GPO, February 124, 2003).
- 135 Peter Chalk, November 19, 2003.
- 136 U. S. General Accounting Office, Food Safety: CDC is Working to Address Limitations in Several of Its Foodborne Illness Surveillance Systems, GAO-01-973, September 2001.
- ¹³⁷ Food and Nutrition Board, Institute of Medicine, Scientific Criteria to Ensure Safe Food, (Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press, 2003).
- 138 General Accounting Office, Food Safety and Security: Fundamental Changes Needed to Ensure Safe Food, GAO-02-47T, October 10, 2001.
- 139 Corine Hegland, "Agriculture's Homeland Security Role Still in Seedling Stage, Observers Say," National Journal.com, January 9, 2004.
- 140 Rocco Casagrande, "Biological Terrorism Targeted at Agriculture: The Threat to U.S. National Security," The Nonproliferation Review, Fall-Winter 2000, 1-14.
- 141 "The Internet and Emergency Preparedness: joint survey with Federal Computer Week magazine," http://www.pewinternet.org/reports/toc.asp?Report=100.
- 142 Department of Justice press release, "Juvenile Computer Hacker Cuts off FAA Tower At Regional Airport First Federaal Charges Brought Against a Juvenile for Computer Crime,"
- http://www.usdoj.gov/criminal/cybercrime/juvenilepld.htm

 143
 Barton Gellman, "Cyber-Attacks by Al Qaeda Feared; Terrorists at Threshold of Using Internet as Tool of Bloodshed, Experts Say" Washington Post, June 27, 2002, Page A01.
- ¹⁴⁴Barton Gellman, "Cyber-Attacks by Al Qaeda Feared; Terrorists at Threshold of Using Internet as Tool
- of Bloodshed, Experts Say" Washington Post, June 27, 2002, Page A01.

 145 CSX Corp. Press Release, "Computer Virus Strikes CSX Transportation Computers," August 20, 2003, http://www.csx.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=company.news_detail&i=45722&ws=corporation.
- Mi2g, http://www.mi2g.com/.
- 147 "Cyber Protests Related to the War on terrorism: The Current Threat," November 2001, http://www.nipc.gov/publications/nipcpub/cyberprotests1101.pdf.

- ¹⁴⁸ Cyber Attacks During the War on terror: A Predictive Analysis, September 22, 2001, http://www.ists.dartmouth.edu/ISTS/counterterrorism/cyber al.pdf
- 149 "Protecting the Homeland." Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Defensive Information Operations, March 2001.
- 150 "Cyber Security: Nations Prepare for Information Warfare." National Journal of Technology Daily, June
- Winn Shwartau, *Information Warfare*, 2nd ed., Thunder's Mouth Press, 1996.
- ¹⁵²Arquilla and Ronfeldt, "Cyberwar is Coming!", article for RAND.
- ¹⁵³ See The National Strategy for the Physical Protection of Critical Infrastructures and Key Assets, the Office of Homeland Security, February, 2003. Also see Governor James Gilmore, "Perspectives on 9-11: Building Effectively on Hard Lessons," testimony before the House Select Committee on Homeland Security, Sept 10, 2003.
- 154 Governor Gilmore, September 10, 2003.
- 155 The Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Response Capabilities for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction (Gilmore Commission), "Implementing the National Strategy: Fourth Annual Report to the President and Congress of the Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Response Capabilities for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction," RAND, December 15, 2002.
- 156 Joint hearing before the House Select Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Infrastructure and Border Security and the Subcommittee on Cybersecurity, Science, and Research and Development, "Implications of Power Blackouts for the Nation's Cybersecurity and Critical Infrastructure Protection: the Electric Grid, Critical Interdependencies, Vulnerabilities, and Readiness," September 17,
- ¹⁵⁷ Gilmore Commission, Fourth Annual Report.
- 158 Protecting the American Homeland: One Year On, M. O'Hanlon, P. Orszag, I. Daalder, et al., the Brookings Institution, 2002, with a new preface, January, 2003
- 159 Testimony of Peter Orszag, Senior Fellow, the Brookings Institution before the House Select Committee on Homeland Security, joint hearing of the Subcommittee on Infrastructure and Border Security and the Subcommittee on Cybersecurity, Science, Research and Development, "Implications of Power Blackouts for the Nation's Cybersecurity and Critical Infrastructure Protection: The Electric Grid, Critical Interdependencies, Vulnerabilities, and Readiness", September 4, 2003 loo Orszag testimony, September 2003.
- ¹⁶¹ GAO, "Response to Posthearing Questions" from the September 17, 2003 hearing, memo to Congressman Camp and Congressman Thornberry, December 8, 2003.
- ¹⁶² Robert F. Dacey, "Critical Infrastructure Protection: Significant Homeland Security Challenges Need to be Addressed," statement before the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, Committee on Energy and Commerce, House of Representatives, GAO-02-918T, July 9, 2002, General Accounting Office. ¹⁶³ Gilmore Commission, Fourth Annual Report.
- ¹⁶⁴ Kenneth C. Watson, President and Chairman, the Partnership for Critical Infrastructure Security, written responses to supplemental questions for the September 17, 2003 joint hearing before the House Select Committee on Homeland Security, November 17, 2003.
- ¹⁶⁵ GAO, December 8, 2003. See also GAO, Homeland Security Efforts to Improve Information Sharing Need to be Strengthened, GAO-03-760, August 27, 2003.
- 166 "Task Force Says Government Has not Yet Taken Advantage of America's Technology Expertise to Combat Terrorism: Markle Task Force Addresses Actions Needed to Create Information Network to Enhance Security While Preserving Civil Liberties," press release, the Markle Foundation, December 2, 2003.
- ¹⁶⁷ GAO, December 8, 2003. Gilmore Commission, Fourth Annual Report. Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Response Capabilities for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction (Gilmore Commission), "Forging America's New Normalcy: Securing Our Homeland, Protecting Our Liberty, Fifth Annual Report, RAND, December 15, 2003.
- ¹⁶⁸ Report of an Independent Task Force Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations, "Emergency Responders: Drastically Underfunded, Dangerously Unprepared," June 2003).

 169 Fourth Annual Report to the President and the Congress of the Advisory Panel to Asses Domestic Re-
- sponse Capabilities for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction, Gilmore Commission., December 16, 2002. Available at http://www.rand.org/nsrd/terrpanel/.
- ¹⁷⁰ General Accounting Office, "Grant System Continues to be Highly Fragmented," GAO-03-718T. 29 April 2003.

¹⁷¹ Lund, Donald A. Learning to Talk: The Lessons of Non-Interoperability in Public Safety Communications Systems, The ATLAS Project, University of New Hampshire. April 2002. P14.

¹⁷² Public Safety Wireless Advisory Committee, Final Report, Voume 1, September 11, 1996, P2.

White House Releases Progress Report on the Global War on terrorism: Report has comprehensive listing of U.S. actions since 9/11 attacks. *US State Department*. 11 September 2003. P23. Page Three Page Three Page 174

Hart-Rudman, Phase Three Report. P25.

- The Gilmore Commission, "Forging America's New Normalcy: Securing Our Homeland, Protecting Our Liberty," December 2003, http://www.rand.org/nsrd/terrpanel/volume v/volume v report only.pdf. Peter Swire and Jeffrey Eisenach, "Ensuring privacy's post-attack survival," Zdnet.com, September 11, 2002, http://zdnet.com.com/2100-1107-957464.html.
- Djerejian, Edward P. Chairman. Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representative. "Changing Minds, Winning Peace. A New Strategic Direction For U.S. Public Diplomacy In The Arab and Muslim World." Report of the Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World. 1 October 2003. P8.
- ¹⁷⁸ Dierejian, Edward P. p13.
- ¹⁷⁹ Dierejian, Edward P. p15.
- 180 Djerejian, Edward P. p15.
- ¹⁸¹ Dierejian, Edward P. p26.
- 182 Dierejian, Edward P. p27.
- 183 Dierejian, Edward P. p36.
- ¹⁸⁴ Dierejian, Edward P. p46.
- ¹⁸⁵ Dierejian, Edward P49.
- ¹⁸⁶ Peterson, Peter G., Chair. Independent Task Force Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations. "Finding America's Voice: A strategy for Reinvigorating U.S. Public Diplomacy." Council on Foreign Relations. 2003, P12.
- ¹⁸⁷ Fuller, Graham E. "The Youth Factor: The New Demographics of the Middle East and the Implications for U.S. Policy, Analysis Paper #3." The Brookings Project on U.S. Policy Towards the Islamic World; The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution.. June 2003. Pvi.
- ¹⁸⁸ Fuller, Graham E. Pvi.
- 189 Fuller, Graham E. P15.
- ¹⁹⁰ Fuller, Graham E. P15.
- ¹⁹¹ Djerejian, Edward P35.
- 192 Gregorian, Vartan. President, Carnegie Corporation of New York. Report of the President, "Islam: A Mosaic, Not a Monolith." Reprinted from the 2001 Annual Report. P27.
- ¹⁹³ Dierejian, Edward P35.
- 194 "Global Terrorism After the Iraq War." United States Institute of Peace, Special Report. October 2003.
- ¹⁹⁵ Gregorian, Vartan.
- ¹⁹⁶ "Progressive Internationalism: A Democratic National Security Strategy." *Progressive Policy Institute*.
- ¹⁹⁷ Hart-Rudman. Phase Two Report. P5.
- ¹⁹⁸ Bronson, Rachel. "Talk Is Cheap, a Marshall Plan Isn't." Los Angeles Times. Op-Ed. August 04, 2003.
- ¹⁹⁹ Bronson, Rachel
- ²⁰⁰ Djerejian, Edward P66.
- ²⁰¹ Perry, William J. Chair. "An American Security Policy: Challenge, Opportunity, Commitment." National Security Advisory Group. July 2003. P27.
- ²⁰² Rice, Susan E. "Iraqis on the Sidelines." The New York Times. 24 October 2003.
- ²⁰³ Dierejian, Edward P66.
- ²⁰⁴ Rice, Susan E. "Managing Allies and Adversaries: A Critique of U.S. National Security Policy." *The* Brookings Institution. November 19, 2002. P8.
- 205 Rice, Susan E. "Managing Allies and Adversaries: A Critique of U.S. National Security Policy." P9.
- ²⁰⁶ Rice, Susan E. "Managing Allies and Adversaries: A Critique of U.S. National Security Policy." P8.
- ²⁰⁷ Packer, George. "Letter From Baghdad. War After the War. What Washington Doesn't See in Iraq." The New Yorker. November 24, 2003. P62. ²⁰⁸ Packer, George. P62.
- ²⁰⁹ Flournoy, Michele A. "Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Lessons for the United States from Afghanistan and Iraq." Center for Strategic and International Studies. P4.

²¹⁰ Flournoy, Michele A. P6.
²¹¹ Wesley Clark Website located at: http://www.clark04.com/issues/iraqstrategy/.
²¹² Wesley Clark Website. located at: http://www.clark04.com/issues/iraqstrategy/.
²¹³ Flournoy, Michele A. P3.
²¹⁴ Flournoy, Michele A. P14.
²¹⁵ Rice, Susan E. "Training Peacekeepers." *The Washington Post.* 20 April 2003. P2.
²¹⁶ Singer, Peter W. "Accentuate the Positive, Eliminate the Negative,' The Need for Grand Strategy in American Policy Towards the Islamic World."
²¹⁷ Singer, Peter W.
²¹⁸ Singer, Peter W.